

The Herald of Freedom.

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Here shall the Free Press be published, and shall be published by Geo. W. Brown, at the Herald of Freedom Press, in Lawrence, Kansas, on Saturday morning, May 1, 1858.

I am content to bide my time, until the pen of impartial history shall reveal the secret workings of the machinery by which this grand result has been achieved—until the race of fiction writers, whose mission seems to be to defame men by denouncing others, shall have given place to the historian who can discern principles as well as men, truth as well as fiction.—Charles Johnson.

A Review of our former Position.—The Leavenworth Constitution.

In July last, when we indicated, in a leading editorial, the line of policy which was deemed best to be pursued by the Free State party to regain their lost rights, we suggested an abandonment of the Topeka Constitutional movement, because we had nothing to hope from it; the getting control of the Territorial government, and the using of it for a term of years, until the country was better able to sustain a State government. The Leavenworth Constitution, it was urged, would be voted down, if submitted to the people. If not submitted to them then it was declared that the people should elect the officers under it, with the view of preventing it from being used like the former Territorial government, for the oppression of the people.

Agreeably to that programme, since very generally endorsed by the whole people, the Topeka government has been abandoned by all parties, and is now acknowledged to be a thing of the past.

In October, the Free State party participated in the election, and thus wrested from their oppressors the instrument which had been employed so effectually for their enslavement. Through the action of that Territorial Legislature, the Free State party were enabled to express their repugnance to the Leavenworth Constitution, thus furnishing their friends in Congress a powerful argument against receiving it; and to provide against contingencies, they elected the executive and legislative officers, and thus effectually prevented it from becoming an engine in the hands of the enemies of freedom for our second enslavement.

That Constitution is pending in Congress. There is a possibility, indeed a strong probability, that it will be legalized in some form by that body. Should such be the result, one which we all deprecate—then that government shall be used to inaugurate, in the shortest manner possible, a government of the people. There is a class of men, however, of the Lane school, of which Thacher and Conway are distinguished members, who declare that they will hang even Free State men, if they attempt to qualify under that Constitution, though it be their purpose to remain in session but a single day, and pass a single law authorizing a new Constitutional Convention. The people, however, triumphed over the *Slaves* in October, and in January last, they will carry out the peace policy in this respect in defiance of these men and their abettors.

But the recent news from Washington gives us cause to hope that Mr. Engle's proposition will succeed; that the Leavenworth Constitution will be submitted to a fair vote of the people, by act of Congress; and in case of its adoption by a majority of them, then the President is to issue his proclamation announcing the result, and declaring Kansas one of the sovereign States of the Federal Union.—If, on the contrary, it is rejected, then the people are to be at liberty to frame a new Constitution, in such manner as they shall see fit, after they have the requisite population to entitle them to a Representative in Congress.

It is needless to say, that if that proposition is passed, the Leavenworth Constitution will be defeated by the people, and then we are remanded back into our Territorial condition, just where the best interests of Kansas indicate we should be.

"But the Leavenworth Constitution, what of that?" inquires a friend. We answer that the Leavenworth Constitution will take its place by the side of the Topeka Constitution—it will serve a purpose in allowing a class of men who are exceedingly anxious to acquire the honors of office, to hold those offices, so far as the mere name is concerned; but who will never approach a single step nearer the position than the honors. To us it was certainly amusing to see the scramble of certain wire pullers and politicians to get nominated for those offices on Wednesday last at Topeka. It seemed a farce, and such, we are confident, it will prove. The law under which the Constitutional Convention was called into being, was of doubtful legality, and more doubtful expediency. The people felt it, and the small vote for delegates to that Convention proved it—as probably not more than one-fourth of all the voters in the Territory participated in that election.

And then the ambiguous character of the Constitution, claimed by its friends to occupy all sides of certain questions. To the black law men it is exceptionable, because it does not meet the issue, neither does it submit that issue now, as it should have done, to a vote of the people. It was proposed to cure this defect through the action of a party convention at Topeka on Wednesday last. The proposition was ludicrous of itself, though it is understood that LANE favored it.

The Constitution is objectionable to the anti-black law men, for the same reason it is objectionable to the other party.

And then, there is the clause, throwing open the schools to both races, black and white, side by side. This is opposed by a numerous class.

The Know-Nothings or Americans, who constitute a large element in Kansas poli-

tics—every man of them, if consistent with his past professions, will repudiate that instrument, because it makes all foreigners voters who have been in the United States one year, and who have resided in Kansas six months, and who have declared their intentions ten days before the election, to become citizens.

Business men who have debts to collect, will vote against it, because they are not willing debtors should become rich at their expense—all experience having demonstrated that a vast majority of a certain class of debtors, will not pay just demands against them, unless compelled to do so by law.

Many temperance men who wished a prohibitory liquor law inserted in the Constitution will vote against it, because that clause is not there, nor power invested in the Legislature to enact such a law, while the temperate and the moderate drinker, and the dealers in spirituous liquors will vote against it, because it has not prohibited the Legislature from legislating on the subject.

Women's rights men will vote against the Constitution because it does not guarantee to women their full rights; while others will oppose it because it has taken a half-way position in favor of the rights of women.

Pro-Slavery men will everywhere vote against it, not because they consider it either legal or vital, but to aid in getting rid of another Topeka affair, with a view of leaving the people free to act on a new Constitution, whenever they wish to do so, without being tied up by other action in the same direction.

Thousands will oppose it, for the reasons given in our paper last week, because it is neither "fish, flesh nor fowl," but it is all things to all men.

It will be opposed, too, by those who do not wish to see a collision brought on between the State and Territorial officers, because if the movement is endorsed by the people, it is the design of the leaders, Lane at their head, to put their government in operation at whatever cost, outside the Union.

But it will be mainly opposed, because a set of men who have been laboring night and day, for the last year, to embroil this Territory in civil war, and who have used every means in their power, to that end, will have the offices in their hands, and will wield them without judgment, opposing all persons who differ in views with them. The men who saw no way to get justice, at the Topeka Convention on Wednesday last, will find a way by defeating the instrument designed for their enslavement.

The lamented HENRY CLAY on one occasion remarked:—

"If indeed we have incurred the divine displeasure, and if it is necessary to chastise this people with a rod of vengeance, I would humbly prostrate myself before Him, and implore Him in His mercy, to visit our favored land, with WAR, with PESTILENCE, with FAMINE, with any scourge other than MILITARY RULE, or a blind and heathen enthusiasm for mere MILITARY REVENGE."

Kansas has been ruled by a man who claims for himself the character of a hero, and whose exploits fill a large space in his auto-biography, but, we have found him making the wildest blunders in a civil capacity, and as a leader he is wholly unqualified for the position; and if followed would lead the country by a short route to destruction.

Whilst there are objections which have been, and will be urged with great force against the Leavenworth Constitution, and as we have suggested will defeat it, they are not the reasons that have the greatest force with us. Our objection to it is, that late events at Washington have rendered it almost certain that there is no earthly prospect of getting into the Union as a State under it. The Federal administration is pledged against it. They have a majority in both branches of the Legislature, and will retain that majority in the House until the fourth of March next, and in the Senate until two years from that time. The Executive Department will remain with them until the same period. During all that time, we have nothing to hope from Congress, under the Leavenworth Constitution. To attempt to organize and maintain a government outside of the Union, for several months, and for probably several years, is to prolong our difficulties, and to continue us in the meantime the tools of aspiring demagogues.

We have said thus much, that the public might understand our honest views on this subject. While we alone are responsible for what we have said, and expect our full share of calumny for its enunciation, yet we have the proud satisfaction of knowing that this position will be sustained by a vast majority of the people, a position which will be applauded by those who desire to end our difficulties in the shortest manner possible. As we hope for nothing ourselves—would as willingly be censured as applauded, and we can afford to let our opposers "pitch in," which they have been in the habit of, and will continue doing to their heart's content.

The product of one of the doggeries in Lawrence was locked up in the calabos last Saturday for getting drunk.—The rumeller was the one who should have been locked up, and kept there until he resolved to abandon his nefarious business. There is no sense in punishing the drunkard and allowing the drunkard-manufacturer his freedom. These are our views. How do they correspond with those of our neighbors?

John Calhoun knew that death awaited him if he should return to reside in Kansas, so he has obtained leave of the President to remove the Surveyor General's office of Kansas and Nebraska to Nebraska City. The people of that new Territory should now be on the lookout for "treasons, stratagems and spoils."—There is no villainy too base for John Calhoun to engage in. That movement settles the destiny of Kansas, for all our troubles for two years past are traceable directly to the Surveyor General's office.

Read our advertisements.

The principal cities of Missouri, St. Louis, Jefferson City, Booneville and Kansas City, have each recently held municipal elections, and each have elected anti-Leavenworth mayors. In the two former the issue was distinctly Free soil, and the Free soil candidates triumphed. Truly the spirit of progress is abroad. Those towns rampant with Border Ruffianism two years ago are now retracing their steps, and trying to regain the confidence of the country. It was claimed two years ago that Missouri would be a free State, or would make provisions for becoming such, in ten years. The "signs of the times" indicate the realization of this prediction in a much shorter period. Indeed, the next gubernatorial contest in that State will be an open undisguised one between the champions of slavery and the emancipationists. With the progress public sentiment is now making in the right direction, no one can doubt the result.—And who shall take the credit of this revolution but the pioneers of freedom to Kansas, who came here at the outset of the contest, and who have sacrificed comfort and everything else to plant a barrier against slavery on the western borders of Missouri, and thus realize the wish of the Free soil party organized at Buffalo in 1848, which was to circumscribe the area of slavery.

The Reason it will be Voted for.

A Kansas correspondent for an eastern newspaper, who has been one of the most persistent advocates of the Topeka Constitution, even down to the time the friends of that Constitution surrendered their position, and published their pronouncement in self-vindication, writes that the Leavenworth Constitution is the Topeka Constitution *reverted*, and that four-fifths of all the matter found in the Leavenworth Constitution can be found *verbatim* in the Topeka Constitution. This probably accounts for the Topekites rallying around it with so much enthusiasm. We are satisfied, from daily observations, that there is a certainty that the latter will soon occupy the same position with the Topeka Constitution—that the PEOPLE will not rally around it, though politicians will, so they can get an office, or the title to an office by doing so.

We shall take no position against the Leavenworth Constitution, on the contrary we may cast our vote in its favor on the 18th instant. If we do so it will not be because our judgment is convinced that we have anything to hope from that instrument, but because it has become a party measure, as was the case in August last with the Topeka Constitution.

Hydraulic Cement.

The above mentioned article has probably been the most difficult to obtain of any product of commerce demanded in this market. It is almost indispensable in making cisterns, and in erecting and plastering basements of buildings, and for the building of any kind of masonry exposed to dampness. The high rates of freight on the Missouri has advanced the price to four from five dollars a barrel by the time it reached the consumer at Lawrence.

It gives us great pleasure to state that a quarry of this water-lime stone has been found on Doctor BARKER's farm, some four miles west of Lawrence. He has burned a small quantity, and experimented with it to some extent, in making artificial stone of various sizes, allowing the same to harden in water. Some specimens which he has kindly left at this office for the inspection of interested persons, with different proportions of lime and sand, show that it is fully equal to any cement of this character now in use.

The Doctor proposes preparing the article for market. This will be a great relief to our people in all parts of the Territory, and will enable hundreds to construct cisterns, whose limited means would not justify the expense at the former enormous prices at which the article is held. We trust he will burn a kiln immediately, and notify the public that he has supply for sale.

With common lime stone, hydraulic cement, gypsum, coal, sand stone, and sand in abundance in the Territory, a fertile soil, salubrious climate and an enterprising population, who will intimate that Kansas will not be the first State in the Union in all the elements of real greatness?

The White Sulphur Springs.

We were favored a few days ago with the perusal of a letter from Mrs. Chapman, who is now residing in Ohio. Dr. J. B. Chapman, her husband, it will be recollected, was *dislodged* out of some \$9,000 by a Miss Little, of Leavenworth, with whom he fell in love a short time since, and tried to wrong; but the girl, after getting the money, wrote the Doctor that "Pa thought she was too young to marry yet, being only twenty-four years old." Mrs. Chapman has a child some years old, and a half old, which the Doctor refuses to provide for. She tells a hard story on the Doctor, showing that Miss Little was wise in leaving the scamp to shrink for himself. Miss Little ought to divide the spoils with Mrs. Chapman and her child, and we trust she will do so if she sees this notice.

The Doctor reported to a lady in Leavenworth that his wife was dead, and probably repeated the same to Miss Little. According to his affidavit at Leavenworth, it seems it was not the Doctor's fault that he was not guilty of *bigamy*. Wonder if the Doctor is a Mormon?

A Pop-Gun Discharge.

Judge CONWAY, we are told, fired a pop-gun at the Herald of Freedom establishment a few nights ago, because we copied an article from the *Leader* mentioning him as a "miserable pettifogger." The Judge felt that it was joking on facts, hence his nervousness. Never mind, Judge, we did not feel the shock, and hope the recoil did not wholly prostrate you! The Judge, as an active member of the Do-Nothing party, should not allow his feelings to get the better of his judgment, for he is too well posted in human affairs to be ignorant of the fact that men are liable to make *donkeys* of themselves on such occasions. A word to the wise, Judge.

What Does it Mean?

The principal cities of Missouri, St. Louis, Jefferson City, Booneville and Kansas City, have each recently held municipal elections, and each have elected anti-Leavenworth mayors. In the two former the issue was distinctly Free soil, and the Free soil candidates triumphed. Truly the spirit of progress is abroad. Those towns rampant with Border Ruffianism two years ago are now retracing their steps, and trying to regain the confidence of the country. It was claimed two years ago that Missouri would be a free State, or would make provisions for becoming such, in ten years. The "signs of the times" indicate the realization of this prediction in a much shorter period. Indeed, the next gubernatorial contest in that State will be an open undisguised one between the champions of slavery and the emancipationists. With the progress public sentiment is now making in the right direction, no one can doubt the result.—And who shall take the credit of this revolution but the pioneers of freedom to Kansas, who came here at the outset of the contest, and who have sacrificed comfort and everything else to plant a barrier against slavery on the western borders of Missouri, and thus realize the wish of the Free soil party organized at Buffalo in 1848, which was to circumscribe the area of slavery.

Every body we see from the East, says that the very name of Kansas is getting odious with all parties, owing to the fact that it has been pushed into every circle of society for the last four years, to the exclusion of every other topic. And yet we have politicians among us who are laboring constantly to invent some mode by which the Kansas troubles can be kept open for another three years, and to force the controversy into the next Presidential canvass. The programme by which this thing can be brought about has been decided upon, and we have the details from a prominent agitator. If our difficulties are to be prolonged another term of years, to advance the political aspirations of certain arch demagogues, then it is time Kansas was depopulated.

The people of Kansas are as much disgusted with the prominence given to their domestic affairs as the men in the States can be, and from all quarters we hear a determination expressed to eschew those men who are the cause of the agitation.

The People are Right.

A gentleman who has been spending some time in the east, and who has mingled largely with all classes in the mean time, says he wishes the Free State men of Kansas could hear the expressions made in regard to them in the States for about twenty-four hours. He is sure they would stop their crazy movements, and would join for the future in something practical. Instead of running after every strange notion which demagogues could devise, or relying upon Congress, they would engage in a practical way to work out their own disenfranchisement.

When he shall become better acquainted with the PEOPLE of Kansas he will find they are "all right," but he will be more violent than ever upon the broken-down politicians in the States who have come to Kansas to regain their lost positions.

The New York Times.

Mr. SIMONSON, the able Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times, has been making a hasty tour through Kansas, visiting places of interest, and getting acquainted with our leading citizens.—The Times is one of the best newspapers printed in New York, conservative in tone and reliable in facts, and is such a paper as the moderate men of all parties in Kansas can afford to support. It has always favored the voting policy, and has opposed the wild fanaticism which would plunge the country into civil commotion, without the hope of accomplishing anything by so doing. Mr. S's letters will be looked for with interest as showing the views of intelligent men outside of Kansas when looking for themselves on Kansas affairs.

Amusing.

To hear men of the *Inten* school talking about fighting Free State men if they take possession of the Leavenworth Government, and use it even for a single day to inaugurate a government of the people, is really amusing. They fight a proposition so ludicrous that it would draw a smile from an anchorite to think of it. Their courage consists in calling men cowards, and in flying from the Territory when the hour of danger actually arrives! We have seen specimens of the *croaking* of this class of men on several occasions since our residence in Kansas.

Fort Scott Again.

Another difficulty has broken out at Fort Scott. In attempting to arrest a couple of Free State men the troops were fired upon a few days ago, one soldier was killed, Captain ANDERSON of the cavalry was severely wounded, and the horse under him was shot. There were about eight guns fired in all. We understand that there is no probability of the troubles becoming general. We were in hopes some subscriber there would have furnished us with an account of the murder of the *Des Moines* in that region some weeks ago. We were absent at the time of the occurrence, and have never yet learned the facts in regard to the affair.

News from Up the River.

Mr. GOODENOW, just down from Manhattan, says there will be no difficulty in ascending the Kansas river, at this time, as far as that point, or even to Fort Riley. He represents that money matters are very close, owing partly to the fact that the Government is indebted to the settlers about \$30,000 for supplies, which they have failed to pay. He says they are improving as much at this point this season as at any other place he has visited.

Mr. GOODENOW gives us a very flattering account of St. George, eight miles this side of Manhattan; he says it is all any man can desire for a residence, being furnished with natural springs of soft water. The town site is covered with small oak, which each occupant of a lot can trim up to his own liking. They are making great improvements in the place, and it is sure to make a first class town. Shares of nine lots are now held at \$100, though they have been sold at a higher figure. The health of that region is very good, and spring crops look well.

News from Hampden.

Mr. ELLIOTT writes us from Hampden, on the Neosho, that the greatest imaginable excitement exists in that locality in regard to the land sales. The people hardly know whether to make any further improvements or not. If some relief is not given, it must be the ruin of all our fair prospect in Kansas.

He writes that in consequence of the marriage of his daughter, Miss ELLIOTT, the post of teacher in the Hampden Female Seminary is vacant, and wishes an intelligent lady to fill the post. He says he believes the people there will give a good teacher reasonable encouragement. He adds: Hampden is getting a good start, although there is no money to do business with.

There are rumors again in circulation that Mr. BRIDGES is removed from the Land Office at Leavenworth. We are happy to state, for the fifth time, that the story is without a particle of foundation.

We notice that John Calhoun arrived in Springfield, Ill., on his way back to Kansas, on the 20th inst.

How Maps of Kansas.

JOHN HALLAM & Co., St. Louis, have just published a new sectional map of Kansas, embracing all the government surveys down to February last which were filed in the General Land Office at Washington; also the accurate location of all the live towns of Kansas, and the roads leading there, indicating the various Indian Reservations, county boundaries &c. The map is the fullest and most correct of any yet published, and will be found indispensable to travelers in the Territory, and to all persons wishing to ascertain the location of the various towns and post offices in Kansas. It is the map of the present season, and as such will command an extensive sale.

To show how these maps are regarded at home we may state that we received a quantity a few days ago from the publishers on sale, and during the first day, disposed of eighteen copies to our own citizens. We shall keep them on hand and furnish at publishers prices, to wit: \$1 a copy, to those wishing a reliable map of Kansas. Persons at a distance desiring the map, by enclosing one dollar to our address shall receive a nicely bound pocket edition by return mail, postage paid.

New Stage Coaches.

ELDRIDGE BROTHERS have just added some new Concord Coaches to their Stage Lines between Leavenworth and Lawrence, and Wyandott and Lawrence. For comfort, convenience, and beauty, they are not excelled by any stage route in the Union. The proprietors are entitled to great credit for their enterprise in this direction. The best point to leave the Missouri river for Lawrence, is Wyandott; and this is the best place for taking the river for St. Louis. Charges between the two places, by stage, only \$3.00. The stages run daily—Sundays excepted.

Must Have a Hearing.

The Leavenworth Constitution enfranchises the foreigner ignorant of our institutions and not worth a dollar, and but one year an occupant of American soil; and yet denies the woman of education, probably the head of a large family, who has extensive possessions, and is subject to the payment of heavy taxes from a participation, in any manner, in the affairs of government. The people of Kansas will never endorse any such position. If the negro and the foreigner, ignorant of our language, and wholly unacquainted with our institutions, can vote, then our wives and mothers must have a hearing.

Another Minority Constitution.

The Leavenworth Constitutional Convention claimed that Kansas had 21,000 votes, and apportioned their representation among the different counties on this basis. The Delegates to the Convention had about 5,000 votes, or a trifle less than one-fourth the voting population of Kansas. When a Constitution is framed which shall be the fundamental law of the State, we hope there will be sufficient interest shown in the movement to get out at least a majority of all the voters. Any number less than this should not be qualified to frame a Constitution for the State.

Rejoicing for a Small Matter.

One of the Kansas letter-writers rejoices through an eastern paper over the fact that four *Republican* editors held seats in the Leavenworth Convention, and not a conservative editor found his way there. Each of those "*Republican*" editors, either exerted themselves, or their friends did, in every possible manner, to get a seat in that body, whilst not one of the conservative editors aspired to a seat, and would hardly have accepted one if it had been tendered to him.

Kansas Soil Adapted to Wheat Growing.

A friend of ours, an agriculturist, and long a resident of the Genesee Valley, says he never saw wheat look so thrifty as does the present crop in Kansas. He is sanguine the yield this season will equal forty bushels to the acre. This year's harvest will establish the character of Kansas as a wheat growing country, and the result will add thousands of new emigrants to the Territory, who could not have been induced to come here under a different state of facts.

Drowned.

Judge BAKER, of Agnes City, writes us from that place on the 20th inst, that a Mr. SNAPE, a citizen of Wise county, who lived somewhere on the Upper Cottonwood, formerly from Michigan, was drowned on the 8th inst, whilst attempting to cross Diamond Spring Creek. His body has not been found. He formerly resided in Michigan, on the road between Detroit and Lansing.

Thacher, who edits the hebdomadical

over the way, voted for throwing the ballot boxes of Kansas open to the negroes, and for admitting their children to attend schools on an equality with white children, and in favor of allowing non-naturalized foreigners the right of suffrage. We mention it, not that we propose to take any exception to the vote, but merely to let the public know where their representatives stood on certain questions, and in what company they may be looked for in future.

The agents of the Pacific Railroad

have stationed flag-men at all the curves along their line of road to signal any interruptions or danger on the track, so as to prevent accidents. This movement is very creditable to the Company, and is worthy of emulation by other Railroads. This fact, of itself, should put to rest the foolish reports in circulation a few weeks ago, prejudicial to the interest of this road.

A friend at Sugar Mound wishes the address of Rev. DANIEL FOSTER. We are not in possession of the requisite information.

Those men, Gen. LANE among the number, who represent that the Leavenworth Constitution is opposed to negro suffrage, to sustain that position, are compelled to endorse the principles of the Dred Scott decision. Lane is rather a singular *Republican* when he endorses that decision of the Supreme Court, saying that it agrees with the uniform practice of the government for eighty years past.

For the Herald of Freedom.

The Voice of the People should be heard. Popular Sovereignty will not lose any of its rights for want of continual claim. If Kansas is to be saved by conventions, it must certainly escape by that instrumentality from the thralldom of anarchy.

No sooner has "Leavenworth" gone as supposed, to the tomb of the Capulets, than "Leavenworth" gives birth to a constitution to supply the void." Let us look at some of the features of the new born stranger before taking it to our embrace. We confess, as its friends refer its paternity to the people, we feel a fatherly interest in its welfare, and are far from intending to turn our face away, yet we wish to scrutinize the new comer a little. Is this the one to which our eyes have been so long directed, or do we still look for another, to save us from the despotism of the slave power, or that of majority which may be equally fatal to liberty and justice?

Permit me to occupy a little space in taking a glance at the Leavenworth Constitution. Is this a free constitution—free from any taint of injustice; do the great principles of human rights, and does true democracy underlie it? Can under it every human being stand up a freeman, or must we still bend our necks to the yoke of slavery, and after all our struggles—consent to do the bidding of the slave power?

We look upon any government as rightfully founded, only in the consent of the governed. That consent can only be obtained by a submission of the form of government to the whole people who are to yield their allegiance to it. Now to preclude any portion of the people from passing upon the fundamental law—the Constitution—is no submission at all. Practically a majority must govern, but an *assumed* majority. If one portion can be precluded from voting upon the submission—can be denied the privilege of expressing their dissent, on account of color or a particular caste of ancestry, so may other portions for like reasons, and there shall be instituted under the guise of republicanism, the tyranny of a usurping majority or minority, as may happen.—The true doctrine is, *submission to the whole people*, upon the great political maxim—that "all men are created equal," which, if it has any meaning, must signify *equality of political rights*. There is no other possible form of universal equality among men; there's no other way of vindicating that great truth than by according this equality to every man. Any other system in spirit of government is but a despotism in plan, and will soon become such in substance in however plausible a form it may be presented.

This Constitution violates or miserably evades these "self-evident truths"—first in the provisions for its submission to the people (C)—secondly, in defining the elective franchise for future exercise by electors, limiting it to male citizens of the United States, and thus excluding negroes and other colored races, according to the now received dogma of the national slavery party, and extrajudicially delivered to them by certain Judges of the Supreme Court, and subscribed to by a large and influential portion of the so-called Free State party of this Territory.

Every community has a sort of standard of morals, high or low, possessing in this respect the characteristics of individuality. The elevation or depression of this standard has its effect upon all its members.—Once admit a corrupt rule of action in the public administration, you corrupt the whole community; introduce a despotic principle into the fundamental law, you have a despotism; establish an inequality by depriving a particular class of any of the rights which the majority enjoy, freedom is but a name to those whom that inequality affects. The only sort of freedom, the absence of which is most keenly felt, is political. You remind at every election the proscribed class that it is not equal—that it is not free; in a word you establish slavery in fact, if not in name.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE is to be taken as an axiom, it cannot be submitted; submission is denial. The very provision in this Constitution on the subject admits that universal suffrage does not exist under it.

To whom is the submission to be made, and by whom? who claim the right to submit this question, and whence that right derived? It was more sensible to ask, who have the right to withhold the elective franchise from any man, not to speak of woman?

It is proposed to establish a government among the human beings inhabiting a district of country within certain fixed boundaries. It is admitted that in justice, the consent of those who are to submit to that government, ought first to be had, that assent is to be given or withheld by the exercise of the elective franchise. Yet this constitution stifles itself by referring this all important question to the decision of a restricted vote—the very restriction which it is believed is most prominent in the public mind—as regards negroes.

There are some men who never deem themselves prosperous or fortunate unless at the expense of others. So it seems to have entered the minds of many demagogues and, through them, of a large majority of the people, that *white* men can only enjoy their political rights while negroes are denied all; that as you allow to the latter any, you deprive the former of theirs. It is upon this feeling and spirit alone that slavery sustains itself; and where aristocracy and slavery exist (and they do always co-exist), you can not accord to the slave any of the privileges of men without diminishing those of the slaveholders class. The bare assertion of any political rights in the slave subject is a practical denial of the rights of the master class.

Now we hold the denial of perfect political equality as the establishment, to that extent, of slavery, and in giving power to any body to provide for the submission of universal suffrage you enable that body effectually to establish slavery. You at least put the fundamental principle of democracy in jeopardy. But may not a submission be made? Yes, but

any restriction not resulting from the vote of all, is merely the triumph of might over right. It is begging the question, settling it in advance, and making submission but a mockery.

The denial of the elective franchise to negroes is not one of great moment practically to Kansas, but it is a question of principle. Are we not an integral portion of that great American family which holds in bondage four millions of negroes— which withholds from the nominally free the full rights of citizenship—which maintains the incapacity and inequality of the black race, while, with rare exceptions, excluding them in their laws from the ordinary privileges—political, educational and social—of other men; and subject them to every depressing influence unfavorable to their intellectual and moral development? If we can do nothing to advance him in the scale of being, nothing to promote his welfare, what need is there of our joining in a crusade against him? Are we called upon to denounce him? Are we called upon to say any thing about one race of men or another in this new State? Are we particularly called upon, unless by the SLAVE POWER, to single him out from all the races and nationalities of men, of so varied and distinct colors within our borders? Is there no other way in which we can exhibit our humanity and love of equality? Are we prepared to admit to the world that our outcry for freedom and human rights, and for the vindication of the Declaration of Independence, is but sounding brass and base hypocrisy?

These views, I apprehend, Mr. Editor, will be unpalatable to many. I know that for one, you prefer an open straight forward line to one of equivocation. I remember in a recent letter of the noble Sumner, I read this sentiment: "No public man loses any thing in power or respect by the earnest utterance of truth in behalf of freedom." I believe it.—The hesitation and pusillanimity exhibited on this very subject—universal suffrage—has already borne its fruits in Washington.

I trust I shall ever be able to subscribe myself, as now, for LIBERTY, FRATERNITY, EQUALITY.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Encouraging Duetting.

At the meeting held in the Unitarian church on Friday evening, 16th ult., a certain distinguished gentleman announced himself as a candidate for the United States Senate, and, as one reason why he claimed the support of the people, said that he had challenged Senator Douglas, and that that Senator, shielding himself behind the privileges of his position, refused to accept it. He therefore wished to be placed there as a Senator so that he might be the peer of Senator Douglas and have the opportunity of lifting that challenge, limiting it to male citizens of the United States, and thus excluding negroes and other colored races, according to the now received dogma of the national slavery party, and extrajudicially delivered to them by certain Judges of the Supreme Court, and subscribed to by a large and influential portion of the so-called Free State party of this Territory.

Every community has a sort of standard of morals, high or low, possessing in this respect the characteristics of individuality. The elevation or depression of this standard has its effect upon all its members.—Once admit a corrupt rule of action in the public administration, you corrupt the whole community; introduce a despotic principle into the fundamental law, you have a despotism; establish an inequality by depriving a particular class of any of the rights which the majority enjoy, freedom is but a name to those whom that inequality affects. The only sort of freedom, the absence of which is most keenly felt, is political. You remind at every election the proscribed class that it is not equal—that it is not free; in a word you establish slavery in fact, if not in name.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE is to be taken as an axiom, it cannot be submitted; submission is denial. The very provision in this Constitution on the subject admits that universal suffrage does not exist under it.

To whom is the submission to be made, and by whom? who claim the right to submit this question, and whence that right derived? It was more sensible to ask, who have the right to withhold the elective franchise from any man, not to speak of woman?

It is proposed to establish a government among the human beings inhabiting a district of country within certain fixed boundaries. It is admitted that in justice, the consent of those who are to submit to that government, ought first to be had, that assent is to be given or withheld by the exercise of the elective franchise. Yet this constitution stifles itself by referring this all important question to the decision of a restricted vote—the very restriction which it is believed is most prominent in the public mind—as regards negroes.

There are some men who never deem themselves prosperous or fortunate unless at the expense of others. So it seems to have entered the minds of many demagogues and, through